

Documentation of Western Pantar (Lamma)

an endangered language of Pantar Island, NTT, Indonesia



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Abstract

This research project carried out linguistic documentation of Western Pantar, an endangered Papuan language spoken on Pantar Island, Nusa Tenggara Timur. The primary product of this research is an annotated corpus of audio and video recordings covering a range of genre and speech styles. All field data has been archived digitally following current best practice recommendations. Secondary products include a tri-lingual dictionary and a reference grammar. The use of aligned text and audio and the publication of a media corpus will ensure the future researchers have maximal access to original field data.

The Pantar region remains one of the least documented linguistic areas in Indonesia, and almost no documentary information has previously been available for Western Pantar and many of the other non-Austronesian languages of Pantar. Through the use of best-practice language documentation techniques to create an enduring record of the language, the documentation produced by this project will broadly impact linguistic science, providing crucial typological data from a little-known part of the world's linguistic landscape. Furthermore, through close collaboration with indigenous language workers and the development of Indonesian language reference materials, this project has contributed to the continued maintenance and appreciation of the Western Pantar language.

1. Introduction

The Western Pantar language (also known as “Lamma”, ISO 639-3 code lev) is one of several indigenous Papuan (non-Austronesian) languages (*bahasa daerah*) spoken on the island of Pantar, Kabupaten Alor, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia. At least five other Papuan languages are spoken on the island: Nedebang, Blagar, Teiwa, and Tereweng. The Papuan languages of Pantar and neighboring Alor, together with several Papuan languages spoken on Timor, form a well-defined genetic group known as the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) group.¹ To avoid confusion between the language name and the geographic region, in this report I use the unqualified term Western Pantar exclusively to refer to the language. When referring to the region in which the language is spoken, I use either “the Western Pantar region” or simply “west Pantar”.

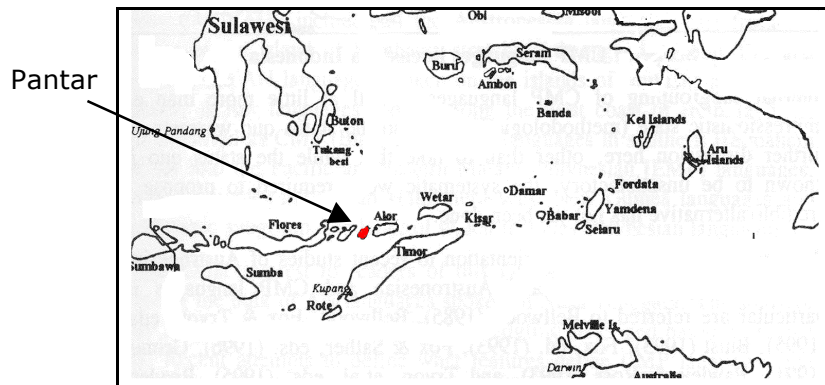
1.1 Background

There is no generally accepted logonym for the language here called Western Pantar. The term Western Pantar itself is a calque of the Indonesian term Pantar Barat, a reference to the political subdistrict of the same name. This subdistrict (kecamatan) was subdivided in 2005, so that the Western Pantar language is now spoken across several subdistricts. The Ethnologue lists the name “Lamma”, however, this term more properly refers to just one of three major dialects, the others being Tubbe and Mauta. In Indonesian most speakers use a clan or village name to refer to the language. Thus, for example, “Bahasa Puntaru” (the language

¹ The term Papuan is here used synonymously with non-Austronesian. The precise genetic affiliation of the TAP group has yet to be determined, though Ross (2005) assigns it to the “Trans-New Guinea linkage”.

of Puntaru) or “Bahasa Tubbe” (the language of the Tubbe clan). The indigenous logonym universally applied is *pi habbang birang*, literally, ‘our village speak’.

Figure 1: Location of Pantar Island within East Indonesia



One of the earlier names for the island of Pantar appears to derive from the Western Pantar language. The name “Galiyao” persisted into the mid-twentieth century and is found for example on colonial era nautical charts. The Western Pantar term for Pantar Island is *Gale Awa Kukka*, literally ‘island of living body’, perhaps a reference to the active volcano Mt. Sirung which dominates the west Pantar region.

The island of Pantar consists of two very distinct physical geographic regions. The northern peninsula and eastern coast is relatively mountainous and hence has a relatively higher amount of rainfall supporting a variety of vegetation. Roughly 60% of the forty thousand or so residents of Pantar live in this eastern area (Badan Pusat Statistik 2005). The northern peninsula and eastern coast maintain close ties with neighboring Alor and the islands in the Pantar Strait, from which they are separated by relatively protected waters (though with extremely treacherous currents). The relatively prosperous climate of northern and eastern Pantar contrasts dramatically with the dry and sparsely populated western part of the island. This area consists of a relatively flat plain descending from the slopes of an active volcano, Mt. Sirung. This plain is dissected by dry washes which serve as an impediment to transportation. Some surface water is found seasonally in creek beds on the upper slopes of the volcano. Otherwise, the only surface “water” to be found is contaminated by hot springs with high sulfur content. A spring located at Air Panas is considered potable and used for drinking and washing. Two sulfurous creeks, originating in hot springs near Kakamauta, flow into the ocean between Puntaru and Alimakke, but the sulfur content of these creeks renders them undrinkable.

With only three exceptions, Western Pantar is the language of the entire west Pantar physio-geographic region. The exceptions are limited to three coastal areas. The areas around Baranusa on the northern coast and the island of Marica off the western coast are populated by Austronesians who speak a dialect of Alorese, sometimes referred to as Bahasa Baranusa. In addition, the mangrove swamps in the extreme northeast corner of west Pantar in the village of Maliang are home to speakers of the Deing dialect of the Teiwa language.

The dry region of west Pantar is separated from the northern peninsula by a physical barrier consisting of a number of steep-walled canyons. To this day no road connects the northern peninsula with the western part of the island. Access to the eastern part of the island is most easily achieved via the low pass to the north of Mt. Sirung, down a dry wash from Air Mama reaching the coast at the government resettlement village of Beang.

The availability of potable water is a crucial problem for the west Pantar. Much well water is also contaminated with hot springs water. Other wells are

extremely saline. Overuse of existing sources has resulted in increasing salinization of wells. But it appears that even in times of lower population density access to difficult water was still a problem. Very little water is consumed in the region. Instead, residents rely heavily on liquids from palm fruits, including young coconuts (*kelapa muda*) and fermented lontar palm sap (*tuak*).

1.2 Justification

Prior to my first exploratory trip to Pantar in 2004 almost no information was available regarding the Western Pantar language. Hence, the primary scientific justification for focusing field research on the Western Pantar language is the lack of any existing documentation. However, given the fact that many of the world's six thousand or so languages are in need of documentation, some sort of effort at prioritization is warranted. Several factors justify prioritization of research on Western Pantar in particular.

First, while Western Pantar is arguably not the most endangered of the TAP languages, it remains quite vibrant. That is, within the west Pantar region *bahasa daerah* is used on a daily basis in a variety of settings by speakers of all ages. Even situations which in other areas are given over to the use of Indonesian or Malay are in the Western Pantar area often conducted in *bahasa daerah*. For example, recent village meetings in Puntaru relating to the election of a new *kepala desa* have often been conducted in *bahasa daerah*. This fact is crucial to the compilation of comprehensive linguistic documentation. Only when language use is sufficiently vibrant and pervasive can a complete corpus of speech samples be collected and analyzed. Furthermore, this fact cannot be taken for granted: in other areas of Alor-Pantar language shift has already taken place resulting in decreasing use of *bahasa daerah* and decreasing knowledge of *bahasa daerah* among younger people. For example, the Nedebang (Klamu) language of eastern Pantar has few if any speakers younger than age fifty (Holton 2004). The Western Pantar situation even contrasts with that of Deing, a language which is spoken in Maliang, seat of the Kecamatan Pantar Tengah, one of the principal kecamatan in which Western Pantar is spoken. Use of the Deing language appears to be in decline, being replaced by Indonesian as the language of everyday communication, and many children have little or no knowledge of Deing (Tina, pers. comm.). Thus, the linguistic vitality of Western Pantar contrasts markedly with that of the geographically closest other member of the TAP group. While Nedebang and Deing may be more "endangered" than Western Pantar, only Western Pantar has sufficient vitality to facilitate comprehensive documentation to a level currently recognized as being of lasting significance (cf. Himmelmann 1998; Woodbury 2003).

A second factor justifying the choice to focus field work on Western Pantar is its structural dissimilarity with other TAP languages. Considering again the two languages mentioned in the previous paragraph, both are quite similar to Teiwa, a language which has been extensively documented by Marian Klamer (to appear). Deing is acknowledged as a dialect of Teiwa, and Nedebang exhibits many structural and lexical similarities to Teiwa, being spoken a mere 2 km from the village of Madar, where Klamer undertook her Teiwa fieldwork. On the other hand, Western Pantar exhibits a number of interesting structural differences from other Pantar languages, including Teiwa and Nedebang.

One area where these differences are particularly notable is within the person-marking system. While Western Pantar and Teiwa pronouns exhibit striking morphological and lexical similarity, the functions of these systems is quite different. In Teiwa, grammatical subjects are indexed by free (independent) pronouns, while grammatical objects may be indexed by free or bound pronouns. In particular, different pronoun strategies are employed for subjects versus objects. This is not the case in Western Pantar. Rather, in Western Pantar a pronominal

prefix may index any semantico-syntactic macro-role. For example, either intransitive subject (1), transitive subject (2), or transitive object (3).

- (1) na-golang ta
1SG-return IMPF
'I'm going to go home'
- (2) na-ga-niaka
1SG-3SG-see
'I saw him'
- (3) gang na-diti
3SG 1SG-stab
'he stabbed me'

That is, in Western Pantar pronominal prefixes (bound pronouns) may index either the S, A, or O macro-role. This situation challenges characterization in terms of grammatical alignment according to a standard typology. Clearly, information about related languages can inform our understanding of Western Pantar, but the Western Pantar person-marking system is unique and must be understood on its own terms based on primary linguistic documentation.

A third factor justifying the choice of Western Pantar concerns endangerment status. As noted above, Western Pantar cannot be considered to be the most endangered language among the Alor-Pantar languages (that honor goes to Nedebang). However, several recent developments indicate that language shift may be imminent with the Western Pantar region. First and foremost of these is the arrival of satellite television in 2007. While the introduction of television has been uneven across the region, a satellite dish, television, and generator set were installed at the SMP Negeri Puntaru in February 2007. Since that time, television broadcasts have been a regular evening feature, attracting almost all of the youth of Puntaru village. These broadcasts represent a significant source of exposure to Indonesian language for Puntaru youth. The arrival of television broadcasts has been correlated with language shift both in Indonesia in particular (Florey 1990) and across the world more generally (Krauss 1995). While television broadcasts are currently available only via satellite, the kabupaten government is committed to installing a television transmitter in west Pantar by the end of 2007, making television more widely available in the region.

The arrival of television will be followed shortly by the development of communication infrastructure within the Western Pantar region. In May 2007 a cellular telephone station was installed and made operational in Baranusa, the capital of Kecamatan Pantar Barat. This signal is now accessible from several Western Pantar speaking villages. Plans are underway to install additional transmitters within the region. (Ironically, cellular phone service has arrived prior to electricity in most villages in Pantar.) Plans are also underway to further develop transportation infrastructure, including the development of a ferry port, permitting direct connection between the Western Pantar region and the provincial capital of Kupang. All of these developments, though welcome from an economic point of view, will have detrimental effects on the use and vitality of the Western Pantar language. Hence, it is crucial that documentation of the Western Pantar language be undertaken at once, while the language remains vibrant.

1.3 Relation to previous research

The Alor-Pantar region remains one of the linguistically least understood regions in Indonesia (with the possible exception of the Mamberamo River area of northeast Papua province). Prior to the beginning of this research, most of the existing information about Alor-Pantar was in the form of surveys or short studies of particular aspects of grammar and phonology. An early survey containing some grammatical and typological notes can be found in Stokhof (1975), however, this

survey contains no grammatical information on Western Pantar. A more recent survey can be found in Grimes et al (1997), though this is essentially an inventory of populations and alternative language names.

The only non-Austronesian language on Pantar which has received much attention in the published literature is Blagar, though through field work conducted on the island of Pura (Steinhauer 1977; 1990; 1993). On neighboring Alor, Stokhof has undertaken extensive studies of Woisika (1977; 1979), as well as shorter studies of neighboring Kabola (1987) and Abui (1984). None of these has resulted in the publication or archiving of comprehensive linguistic documentation. The most complete and significant documentary work is Haan's (2001) Ph.D. dissertation, a grammar of the Adang language on Alor Island.

With the onset of the twenty-first century a renewed effort toward linguistic documentation has begun. The recently completed Alor and Pantar Project at the University of Leiden, under the direction of Prof. Marian Klamer, undertook documentation of three TAP languages: Abui, Klon, and Teiwa. Kratochvíl's (2007) dissertation is a grammar of the Alor language Abui. This dissertation was defended in May 2007. Louise Baird's grammatical description of the Alor language Klon has been submitted for publication (Baird in prep), and Marian Klamer's grammar of the Pantar language Teiwa is currently being prepared for publication (Klamer in prep). With the addition of the current researcher's description of Western Pantar, in a short time four grammars of TAP languages will be available in published form. That is, in a period of less than ten years, the number of published grammars of TAP languages will increase from zero to four. The current research has maintained close working relationships with other linguists working in the Alor-Pantar region and has striven to create descriptive materials which permit easy comparison between Western Pantar and other TAP languages.

Prior to the beginning of my exploratory research in 2004 only one linguist is known to have conducted field work in the Western Pantar area. Australian linguist Mark Donohue (pers. comm.) made a four day trip to Kakamauta in the late 1990's. Donohue's unpublished field notes establish some of the typological oddities of the Western Pantar person marking system. Other previous work on Western Pantar was conducted with speakers outside the island of Pantar. Stokhof's (1975) survey includes three Western Pantar wordlists, ostensibly collected in the kabupaten capital of Kalabahi on Alor. A structural description published by Pusat Bahasa (Nitbani et al. 2001) relies entirely on consultants residing in the provincial capital of Kupang, and perhaps for these reason exhibits numerous errors of fact and analysis.

2. Objectives

The primary object of this research is to conducted field research for the purposes of compiling complete documentation of the Western Pantar language. Research was conducted by the researcher himself, with assistance from several local speakers. Data to be collected includes: audio and video recordings; lexical data; and grammatical information. See discussion of methodology below.

3. Implementation

3.1 Research site

Research was conducted primarily in the village of Puntaru, Desa Tude, Kecamatan Pantar Tengah, Kabupaten Alor, Propinsi Nusa Tenggara Timur. For this purpose I rented a room in the home of Mr. Mahalalel Lamma Koly, a former kepala desa of Desa Tude and my principal language consultant and collaborator. Owing to the lack of electricity in the village I installed and maintained a portable solar power system providing approximately 30 watts of power. This amount was sufficient to

charge audio and video recorder batteries, power a laptop computer for 2-3 hours, and provide 3 hours of light in the evenings.

Figure 2: Solar setup in Puntaru



I also maintained an office in the kabupaten capital of Kalabahi. This office housed an additional computer and various equipment as well as reference materials. It also served as a place to store and catalogue recordings and other field data. Occasionally the Kalabahi office was used for work with speakers either residing in Kalabahi or visiting Kalabahi.

Travel between Kalabahi and Puntaru was by wooden motor boat and motorbike. I purchased and maintained my own motorbike which I transported on the boat to the port in Baranusa, a journey of 4-5 hours. Puntaru is located an additional 13 km from Baranusa, a journey of approximately one half hour.

3.2 Methodology

This research is grounded in documentary linguistics (cf. Himmelmann 1998; Woodbury 2003). The primary objective is to document the linguistic knowledge of Western Pantar speakers. To that extent, the use of theoretical models of “Universal Language” are explicitly avoided, as such models have been developed without knowledge of the structure of Western Pantar and tend to have a very short shelf life. Four primary research methodologies have been employed: (1) corpus collection; (2) elicitation; (3) text analysis; and (4) monolingual language observation.

Corpus collection is the primary methodology employed in this research. The object is to build an annotated corpus of spoken Western Pantar, encompassing a broad range of genre, speech styles, and speakers. Ideally, all of this material would be transcribed, time-aligned, translated, and interlinearly glossed. However, in some cases I have succeeded in only the first three. For some texts in the corpus there are no accompanying interlinear glosses. At a minimum all texts in the corpus are transcribed and time-aligned using either Transcriber or ELAN software. An example of a transcribed text from the corpus is given in §4.3.3 below.

Elicitation was conducted in Indonesian. Translation into English was performed by the researcher at a later time. Lexical elicitation focused on semantic fields, while grammatical elicitation focused on specific areas of grammar, including pronominal structure, directional system, and postpositions. Occasionally the local dialect of Indonesian proved challenging for the researcher. This was aided somewhat by the availability of a dictionary of Kupang Malay (Jacob & Grimes 2003).

Textual analysis was conducted by first recording natural texts, transcribing those texts, translating them, and then working with a native speaker to explore the grammatical structures contained in the text. Recording is conducted either with a Marantz PMD-671 digital recorder with an AKG lapel microphone, or with a Sony mini-DV video camera with ECM-907S stereo microphone. In some cases both audio and video recorders have been used simultaneously. All recordings were

transferred to computer and then backed up onto archival quality DVD media and onto a portable hard drive. Transcription was performed using the *Transcriber* program on a Macintosh PowerBook G4 laptop. Transcriptions were then transferred to the *Shoebox* program so that they could be interlinearized (each word glossed and each sentence glossed) in both Indonesian and English. Interlinearization was performed in close cooperation with a native speaker.

The final methodology employed was monolingual language field work (cf. Everett 2001). The goal of monolingual language field work is to gain as much fluency in the target language as possible so that analyses can be based on introspective knowledge. This methodology was used primarily as a discovery tool during the research process. That is, insights into Western Pantar grammar gained from my own speaking knowledge were later checked with speakers through direct elicitation and checked against information in the exist speech corpus.

Rather than being distinct activities, these four research methodologies often complemented each other. While I initially shied away from direct elicitation, I found a certain amount of elicitation to be helpful in sorting out subtle semantic distinctions. Western Pantar is infused with figurative language which often makes translation difficult. Furthermore, direct translation into the local variety of Malay can be misleading, as this dialect makes copious use of archaic or less-common senses of standard Indonesian words. A certain amount of elicitation can help to clarify word meaning without relying on translation into Malay. For example, through elicitation it is possible to discover just what objects can be rolled using the verb *inar* 'roll'. (Cigarettes and string can; woven mats and paper cannot.) Though I didn't intentionally endeavor to engage in monolingual field work, ultimately, this type of elicitation activity grades into monolingual research as one gains knowledge of how to use the language. I can't actually claim to have become a fully fluent speaker of Western Pantar, but I did acquire an ability to carry on basic conversations in Western Pantar and was able to internalize much of the grammar. As a result, some of the analyses were developed based on my own knowledge of Western Pantar grammar. However, these analyses have been confirmed by a first-language speaker in all cases.

4. Results and discussion

As a documentary endeavor, the primary results of this research are not findings in the sense of confirming or disaffirming a hypothesis. Rather, the primary findings or results consist of a documentary record of the Western Pantar language which will serve as an enduring resource for future linguistic research, perhaps even "preserving" the Western Pantar language so that it remains accessible to future researchers even after the language ceases to be widely spoken. This documentary record includes raw data in the form of field notes and audio/video recordings, as well as derivative products such as dictionaries, descriptive grammars, and interlinear glossed texts.

Nevertheless, there are a number of findings which may be of more immediate interest to the field of linguistics more generally. Some of these findings are seemingly trivial but nevertheless significant in light of the lack of previous research on the language. These include findings regarding dialectology and the choice of logonym. Other findings are perhaps more significant in that they impinge more directly on our understanding of the structure and history of the TAP language group.

4.1 Detailed results

As it is impossible to summarize an entire language description within a short report, in this section I cite only some sample results. I focus on four areas which have not been previously discussed in my other publications or presentations, namely: dialectology; sociolinguistics; directionals; and aspectual prefixes.

Complete results can be found in the dictionary and grammar which are being produced as part of this project, as well as in the corpus at PARADISEC.

4.1.1 Dialectology and logonym

Within most of the linguistic academic community Western Pantar is referred to as “Lamma”. This name appears in the Ethnologue language catalog (www.ethnologue.com) and in many publications which derive data from the Ethnologue. This name also appears in the recently adopted ISO 639-3 international standard for language names. The source for this name as a label for the entire Western Pantar language is unclear but most likely results from contact with Western Pantar speakers from the Lamma region. Lamma is more properly the name of one of three primary dialects of the Western Pantar languages, the others being Mauta and Tubbe. The Tubbe dialect is spoken in the villages of Puntaru and Air Panas; the Mauta dialect in Kakamauta, Alimake, Lauki, Kapas, Ekajaya, Kolihabbang, Alikallang, Air Mama, and Beang; and the Lamma dialect in Latuna, Allung, Beangongo, Tulai, Nadda, Kayang, Wolu, Moba’a, and Boloang. All dialect forms are clearly intelligible by speakers of other dialects without any difficulty, hence, we are justified in classifying Western Pantar as a single language.

The total number of speakers of Western Pantar is approximately 10,804.² This number breaks down according to dialect as follows.

Table 1: Number of speakers by dialect

| Dialect | Speakers |
|---------|----------|
| Tubbe | 1415 |
| Mauta | 4566 |
| Lamma | 4823 |
| Total | 10,804 |

As is evident from the table, the Tubbe dialect has by far the smallest number of speakers. It is also the most endangered of the three dialects.

Dialect differences are primarily lexical rather than phonological or syntactic differences. Most words are identical across all three dialects. Some examples of lexical differences are given in the table below.

Table 2: Lexical comparison of dialects of Western Pantar

| Tubbe | Mauta | Lamma | |
|---------|-----------|--------|----------------------|
| niar | nissar | niba | ‘my father’ |
| niaku | nebu | nekul | ‘my younger sibling’ |
| niu | niau | nau | ‘my mother’ |
| ganiaka | ganeka(r) | ginaka | ‘see (it)’ |
| dia | si | yel | ‘go’ |

² This figure was arrived at using results of the 2005 census (Badan Pusat Statistik 2005), which lists population at the level of the village (Indonesian *desa*). In some cases it is not easy to assign a particular village to a particular language. For example, the village of Beangonong contains mainly speakers of WP but also some speakers of Alorese. On the other hand, the village of Baranusa consists mostly of Alorese speakers but also some WP speakers. The speaker estimate for WP was arrived at by counting population figures for those villages assumed to have a majority of WP speakers. It should be noted that this estimate applies only to Pantar. Many more speakers of WP have settled other locations, such as Kalabahi or Kupang. The number of such “expatriate” WP speakers is difficult to estimate, though extrapolating from estimates of the number of people originating from the village of Puntaru but now living “abroad”, the figure may be as high as fifty percent of the speaker population on Pantar. This would bring the total number of speakers of WP to something like 15,000.

The above examples at least exhibit phonological similarity. There are also a number of 'couch'/'sofa' type distinctions, as follows.

Table 3: Lexical comparison of dialects of Western Pantar

| Tubbe | Mauta | Lamma | |
|---------|---------|----------|---------------|
| bis | bis | salepi | 'mat' |
| haweri | haweri | bana | 'many' |
| kalla | kalla | kisang | 'small' |
| karani | karani | sinnal | 'canary tree' |
| sai | hoba | hobi | 'quiver' |
| sussung | sussung | kutti | 'throw out' |
| tuang | tuang | talasing | 'scrape' |

The dialect variants are readily recognized by speakers of other dialects and in fact commonly occur in parallel constructions, such as *sai-hobi* 'quiver', *kalla-kisang* 'children'.

There are few systematic differences in pronunciation, and most of these differences can be formulated in terms of tendencies which are more or less prominent in one dialect or another. For example, the in all three dialects phoneme /y/ may occur as liquid [j] or palatalized as [tʲ] or affricated as [dʒ]. However, the affricate pronunciation is much more strongly associated with the Lamma dialect.

The vowel systems differ slightly across the three dialects. The diphthongs /ia/ and /ua/ occur only in the Tubbe dialect. Tubbe /ia/ corresponds to Mauta /e/ or /i/, while Tubbe /ua/ corresponds to Mauta /o/. In Lamma these diphthongs are reflected as disyllabic forms. Tubbe /ia/ in final open syllables corresponds with Mauta /i/. Correspondence with Lamma is irregular, though Tubbe /ia/ often corresponds to Lamma /iCa/.

(4) Tubbe Mauta Lamma

| | | | |
|-------|------|------|-----------|
| pia | pi | hipa | 'descend' |
| mia | mi | mira | 'ascend' |
| gania | gani | gina | 'give' |

Tubbe /ia/ in closed syllables or non-final open syllables corresponds to Mauta, Lamma /e/.

(5) Tubbe Mauta

| | | |
|---------|---------|-----------------|
| ganiaka | ganekar | 'see' |
| tiaku | teku | 'glass' |
| lema | lema | 'coconut shell' |

Tubbe /ua/ corresponds to Mauta /o/.

(6) Tubbe Mauta

| | | |
|---------|--------|-------------|
| tua | to | 'tuak' |
| suaki | soki | 'chicken' |
| haluapi | halopi | 'hear' |
| kuang | kong | 'moko drum' |

Tubbe /ua/ may correspond to Lamma /o/ or /a/.

(7) Tubbe Mauta

| | | |
|---------|--------|-------------|
| haluapi | walapi | 'hear' |
| kuang | kong | 'moko drum' |

Other vowel differences are more difficult to predict. For example, some Tubbe /a/ correspond to Mauta /e/. However, in other words /a/ and /e/ remain as such in both dialects.

| | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|------------|
| (8) | Tubbe | Mauta | |
| | dalla | della | 'tomorrow' |
| | yadda | yedda | 'not yet' |
| | bes | bes | 'mango' |
| | gaddi | gaddi | 'make' |

Consonant correspondences are much fewer. One very general observation which can be made is that the presence of word-final *-l* is strong associated with the Lamma dialect, whereas, presence of word-final *-r* is strongly associated with the Mauta dialect. Word-final liquids *r* and *l* are only rarely found in the Tubbe dialect.

| | | | |
|-----|----------|-------|-----------------|
| (9) | Lamma | Mauta | Tubbe |
| | (a)namal | aname | aname 'person' |
| | lama | lamar | lama 'go, walk' |

Most initial and medial consonants remain unaltered between dialects.

4.1.2 Sociolinguistics

Almost all speakers of Western Pantar are also fluent in the local variety of Malay, sometimes referred to as Alor Malay (REF Baird et al). Competency in standard Indonesian is less widespread, likely owing to the lack of availability of television broadcasts. Many speakers, especially younger ones, mix Malay and Western Pantar in everyday speech. Even older speakers use Malay words for specialized terminology and for connectives. It is not clear whether these words are nonce borrowings or examples of code-switching. No attempt has been to replace such Malay forms in the corpus. Many speakers also have knowledge of neighboring languages, especially Alorese (Bahasa Baranusa), and Alorese sometimes occurs in the corpus.

Most outsiders gain at least passing fluency in Western Pantar. In Puntaru these outsiders are generally of two types: those who have married into the community; and teachers at the local primary school and regional junior high school, and protestant ministers. Members of the former type are mostly women, as men rarely leave the community to marry into their wife's village. There are however, notable exceptions. For example, in Puntaru a man from east Pantar is married to Puntaru woman and resides with his family in Puntaru. This couple first settled in the husband's village in east Pantar. This man owns the boat which transports passengers between Puntaru and east Pantar and on to Kalabahi. As he is often away from home, the woman eventually chose to resettle back in Puntaru. The man now resides there when he is not traveling with the boat. He speaks Western Pantar fluently.

Members of the other outsider categories (teachers and preachers) generally gain only passive fluency in Western Pantar, unless they marry into the community and thus become members of the first type of outsider. Teachers are civil servants and can expect to be reassigned to another community after a period of time if they so desire. Similarly, ministers are assigned by the church synod in Kupang and can be similarly reassigned. This leaves little incentive for them to learn Western Pantar. Indeed, these outsiders have little incentive to spend time in the community. Outsider teachers often spend long periods away from the community. Their civil servant status makes it difficult to remove them from their posts. Similarly, ministers can spend long periods away from the community without fear of losing their post (and salary). During the entire time I conducted field work the minister assigned to Puntaru was away in Kupang. Nearly two years elapsed before he was put on unpaid leave status. Still, he was not actually removed from his posting. Clearly, such outsiders have little incentive to learn Western Pantar, nor does their choice have any affect on language use in the community.

In most domains Western Pantar is the language of everyday communication. There are three primary domains in which the use of Western Pantar is avoided in favor of Malay: education, church, and (official) politics. Government policy bans the use of local language in state schools, except within a special portion of the curriculum reserved for local usage (*muatan lokal*). However, even this reserved curriculum is often usurped for other purposes. For example, in Puntaru time reserved for *muatan lokal* at the SMP is used for the teaching of English. The effect of official school policy is difficult to judge. A sign outside the junior high school reads "zone free of local language" (*kawasan bebas berbahasa daerah*). However, local children have cleverly modified the sign by scratching out the word *kawasan* so that it now reads "free to use local language". Indeed, Western Pantar is still spoken on the school grounds. This may be due in part to the fact that the current school principal is a Western Pantar speaker.

The language of organized religion is almost exclusively standard Indonesian. Almost all speakers of Western Pantar are nominally members of the Christian Protestant church known as Gereja Masehi Injil Timor (GMIT), or Evangelical Church of Timor. While the central church authorities are in general supportive of local language, no church materials have been translated into Western Pantar. In addition, most of the ministers assigned to the west Pantar region originate from outside Pantar and do not speak Western Pantar. These two factors perhaps more than anything else contribute to the avoidance of Western Pantar in Christian religious ceremonies. Western Pantar is avoided not only in formal church services but also in less formal Bible group meetings and prayers. Some informal church songs (though not more formal hymns) have been translated into Western Pantar, but these are usually sung first in Indonesian, then repeated in Western Pantar. Indonesian is the preferred language of prayer.

A third factor influencing the choice of Indonesian as the language of religion is the perceived status of Indonesian as a foreign, or outsiders language. Just as Latin continued to be employed as the language of Roman Catholic church ceremonies long after it ceased to be used as a spoken language in everyday communication, Indonesian is viewed as the language of the church. Thus, the avoidance of Western Pantar in religious ceremonies reflects not the decay of Western Pantar but quite the contrary: Western Pantar is avoided in religious contexts precisely because it is so vibrant and common. Indonesian much more satisfactorily fulfills the role of a mystical religious language. Indeed, some Western Pantar speakers struggle to understand the Indonesian language used in the church and in religious texts. It should be emphasized that Western Pantar speakers are clearly capable of expressing Christian religious ideas using Western Pantar. The use of Indonesian reflects a conscious choice. On only one occasion did I hear a prayer improvised in Western Pantar, and it seemed that the choice to use Western Pantar was made for my benefit. Related to this factor is a desire to distinguish Christian religious practices, which only began to be widely adopted in the region in the mid-twentieth century, from traditional animist religious practices. The word 'god' is usually translated into Western Pantar as *lahatala*, a word which has strong associations with animist traditions. The use of Indonesia avoids reference to terms which could be ambiguously interpreted as Christian or animist.

The language of official politics is almost exclusively standard Indonesian. This is in part owing to the location of the district capital in the Deing speaking village of Maliang.³ Even at the local level, where all participants are Western Pantar speakers, Indonesian is used to conduct political meetings. However, when debate becomes more intense, there is a tendency to switch into local language. For example, during a May 2007 meeting the local village council (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa*) in Puntaru, opening ceremonies and speeches were

³ The district capital was moved to Maliang in 2005. Prior to that time the capital was located in Baranusa, also a non-WP speaking area.

conducted entirely in Indonesian. Indonesian was used even for address forms, thus *ibu-ibu bapak-bapak* rather than *wenang marung kuba marung* for 'ladies and gentlemen'. However, as debate (regarding the composition of a committee to screen candidates for village head) became more intense, more and more Western Pantar could be heard. Thus, in the context of politics Indonesia lends an air of formality to local discussion, allowing local participants to enter into a political discourse which extends to the national level. However, when the issues become more important than protocol, Western Pantar is always the language of choice.

Exposure to mass media has been limited. In most of west Pantar there is no electricity and no television broadcast. A few individuals own shortwave radios which are used primarily to listen to a provincial broadcast from Kupang which gives announcements of births and deaths across the province. No newspapers or other written media are generally available. Occasionally newspapers are brought back from Kupang by travelers. However, these are more likely to be used as wallpaper than as reading material. However, exposure to mass media is presently changing. In February 2007 the regional junior high school (SMP) in Puntaru obtained a television, satellite dish, and generator. This is ostensibly used to provide educational programming. However, the primary function appears to be to air nightly films. This has occurred nightly since the satellite dish was installed. Almost every child and many adults in the village now pass their evenings at the junior high watching television programming from Java. The effects of this exposure to Indonesian language remain to be seen.

4.1.3 Directionals

The directional system in Western Pantar consists of deictic pronouns, deictic adverbs, locational nouns, and directional verbs.

The deictic pronouns distinguish proximal, distal (general), as well as three levels of elevation (above, below, equal). Cross-cutting this distinction is a distinction between visible and non-visible, and within the latter between definite and indefinite known to the speaker and not known to the speaker. Though not analyzed here as such, these forms are at least historically complex. The non-visible forms include the locational verb *me*, which is lacking in the visible forms.⁴ The morph *s-* indicates that the speaker knows the location, but this morph is not productive elsewhere in Western Pantar morphology. Finally, the stem forms *iga*, *ina*, *dau*, *pau*, *mau* can be seen to derive from the deictic adverbs.

Table 4: Deictic pronouns

| | visible (VIS) | non-visible | |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| | | definite (DEF) | indefinite (INDF) |
| proximal (PROX) | <i>saiga</i> | <i>sigamme</i> | <i>igamme</i> |
| distal (DIST) | <i>saina</i> | <i>sinamme</i> | <i>inamme</i> |
| above (ABOVE) | <i>sraugu</i> | <i>sraume</i> | <i>daume</i> |
| below (BELOW) | <i>spaugu</i> | <i>spaume</i> | <i>paume</i> |
| same level (LEVEL) | <i>smaugu</i> | <i>smaume</i> | <i>maume</i> |

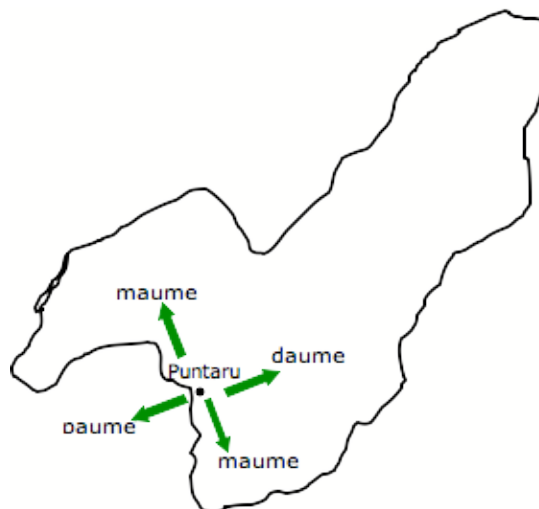
The final *-(m)e* may be dropped in casual speech. Thus, *sinam* is a shortened form of *sinamme*, *daum* is a shortened form of *daume*, etc. Although the system includes only three directional distinctions, in practice the equal level term (*-mau*) is treated as an axis perpendicular to the up-down (*dau-pau*) axis.

Crucially, this is not a water-based system. That is, the system does not reorient when the deictic center is moved with respect to water. Thus, from inland

⁴The consonant of this historic morpheme is lengthened in the Tubbe dialect but retained as a single consonant in the other dialects. Thus, Tubbe *sinamme* corresponds to Mauta and Lamma *siname*.

Puntaru is *paume* 'below', and from Puntaru (near the coast) the beach is also *paume*.

Figure 3: Use of directionals relative to the village of Puntaru, Pantar Island



The Western Pantar system thus contrasts with water-based systems which distinguish up versus down the coast (and up versus down river). In Western Pantar both directions along the coast are indicated using the same term, based on the stem *-mau*.

The Western Pantar system can be contrasted with a water-based system such as that in Tobelo (West Papuan). In Tobelo directional suffixes *-uku* 'down the coast' (out of the bay, also downstream) versus *-ilye* 'up the coast' (into the bay, also upstream) (Holton 2003). The Tobelo terms also describe an axis which is perpendicular the seaward-landward axis, but in Tobelo the two opposing directions along this axis are differentiated. In Western Pantar these directions are not differentiated.

The distinction between visible and non-visible is addressee based. That is, a speaker uses visible forms when she expects that the hearer is able to see the referent.

The pragmatic feature encoded by the definite versus indefinite pronoun distinction can be best characterized as "identifiability," in the sense of Chafe (1994: 94). I have retained the term "definite" here as a label for a structural morphological category. The use of the term definite to describe a pronoun presents a slight problem, as pronouns are generally considered to be definite, i.e., identifiable. To the extent that pronouns index a nominal referent, said referent should be already established and hence identifiable. However, Western Pantar indefinite pronouns are cataphoric, indexing a referent which has not yet been established.

Referents indexed by definite pronouns are assumed to be shared by the listener, sufficiently verbalized, and contextually salient. That is, identifiable. The speaker assumes that the speaker has already opened a cognitive file in order to track the referent. On the other hand, no such assumption is made for referents indexed by indefinite pronouns. Rather, the speaker is in effect requesting that the hearer open a new cognitive file in order to track a new referent.

The distinction between definite and indefinite pronouns is only relevant to the non-visible pronouns, as visible pronouns are assumed to be definite.

The identifiability distinction is especially salient in narrative contexts where initial reference is often made using an indefinite pronoun, while continuing reference is made using a definite pronoun.

- (10) gang mittung si maum bukkus me
 3SG.AGT first this LEV.INDF room be.located
 eu gai bukkus me smaume gar halli
 woman 3SG.POSS room LOC LEV.DEF with cry
 'at first the woman is in a room [then] she cries in her room' [marriage146]

Western Pantar speakers describe the distinction between definite and indefinite pronouns as an epistemic distinction concerning addressee knowledge. Indefinite forms are used to refer to referents whose location is known to the speaker but not to the hearer. That is, speakers use indefinite forms when they assume that the hearer does not know the location of the referent. This epistemic analysis can be seen to derive readily from the identifiability analysis presented here. A referent which the speaker assumes the hearer has no knowledge of are clearly not yet contextually salient or sufficiently verbalized. That is, it is non-identifiable and so will be coded with an indefinite pronoun. That is, this referent is not yet contextually salient. Indefinite forms indicate that the speaker assumes the referent to be not yet contextually salient

In discourse the definite versus indefinite distinction often corresponds to a distinction between of punctual versus non-punctual, respectively. That is, the definite deictics indicate a greater level of precision while the indefinite deictics refer to a general area. A typical example is the following, uttered while speaker and listener were walking along the beach. The speaker wishes to indicate the location at which he wants to turn into the forest to follow a trail inland. The trail is not yet visible but the speaker knows well the location of the trail, though the hearer does not. The speaker uses the definite form *smaume*.

- (11) smaume ta pi-mia
 LEVEL.DEF before 1INC.PL-ascend
 'let's ascend from that (precise) place over there'

In contrast, the indefinite forms are commonly used to express that a speaker knows only the general location, not the precise location of a referent. For example, in reply to a question about the location of a certain thing or person, a speaker may use the indefinite form *paume* 'down there (somewhere)' or *inamme* 'there (somewhere)'. If the precise location is known, such as the specific house where the person or thing is located, then the speaker will use the definite forms *spaume* or *sinamme* instead.

- (12) sinam kaweni ging tang saukang kalung allang
 DIST.DEF children 3PL.AGT on look here.and.there then
 'they looked around at the children there' [bm152]

The term *do* is a unique directional item which means 'where at a distant place'. It is unspecified for direction up or down or over. Indeed, it may be used in combination with any of the deictic pronouns.

- (13) do daum Kupang me
 from.there ABOVE.INDEF K. LOC
 'from down there in Kupang'

- (14) do paum Jakarta me
 from.there DOWN.INDEF J. LOC
 'from down there in Jakarta'

The term *do* is probably historically related to the indefinite deictic adverb *dau* 'above' (see below). However, *do* does not specify an upward direction or location. This is demonstrated in the following text excerpt. Here *do* is used in the same phrase as going to Kupang, but Kupang is clearly indicated as being in the downward direction, both through the use of the verb *pia* 'descend' and the deictic pronoun *paum*.

(15) pubila 424-426

- a. lama dia daum Kalabahi me,
walk go ABOVE.INDEF K. LOC
'(they) walked up to Kalabahi,'
- b. do Kupang me wa i-pia ganung.
from.there K. LOC go RLS-descend all
'from there they all went down to Kupang.'
- c. pia paum Kupang me, ...
descend BELOW.INDEF K. LOC
'having gone down to Kupang, ...'

Another category of directional items is the deictic adverbs, which indicate location but are not pronominal. That is, they do not refer but are instead used as adverbs to indicate a location.

Table 5: Deictic adverbs (Tubbe dialect)

| | definite (DEF) | indefinite (INDEF) |
|------------|----------------|--------------------|
| proximal | <i>siga</i> | <i>iga</i> |
| distal | <i>sina</i> | <i>ina</i> |
| above | <i>srau</i> | <i>dau</i> |
| below | <i>spau</i> | <i>pau</i> |
| same level | <i>smau</i> | <i>mau</i> |

An example of a deictic adverb is given below.

- (16) habbang mau aname horang sauke-yabe
village LEV.INDEF people make.noise lego-lego.dance
'over there in the village people were making noise dancing lego-lego'

The proximal and distal deictic adverbs serve as a base from which the adverbs *sigaddi* 'like this' and *sinaddi* 'like that' are (at least historically) derived. The morph *-ddi* is not synchronically productive but is likely to derive from the verb *gaddi* 'to resemble'.

A third category of directional items is locational nouns. These are nouns which designated an area, usually with reference to another object. The referenced entity may be expressed via an inalienable possessive prefix, usually third-person singular *ga-*. Thus, the locational noun may occur as the possessed (head) noun is a possessive construction. The prefix is obligatory when an NP referring to the referenced entity is expressed.

- (17) Locational noun construction

(NP *ga-*)N_{LOC}

Though semantically similar to postpositions, locational nouns are distinguished from postpositions in that they are true nouns. That is, they can be used to refer to an entity. For example, the locational noun *butang* 'area above' is semantically similar to the postposition *tang* 'on, above', but they are not syntactically interchangeable. The postposition *tang* heads a postpositional phrase, while the noun *butang* cannot.

- (18) ma butang ya
come area.above head.toward
'head toward the area above'
*ma tang ya

- (19) tiaku mea tang migang
 glass table on set
 'set the glass on the table'
 *tiaku mea butang migang

Both the locational noun and the postposition can occur with a pronominal prefix. The prefix is obligatory when a locational noun occurs with a noun

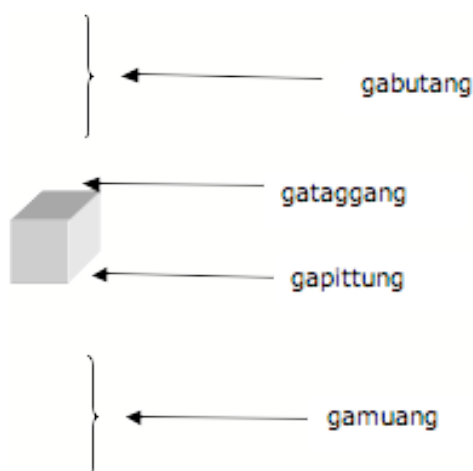
With a pronominal prefix, locational nouns are used to indicate location with respect to another reference object. These nouns take prefixes (usually *ga-* 3SG) which refer to the reference object. The identity of the reference object is either established through prior discourse or indicated directly with an adjunct noun phrase.

Table 6: Directional nouns (Tubbe dialect)

| | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|
| gawanang | 'behind, other side' (same level) |
| gamanang | 'in front, this side' (same level) |
| gabutang | 'above' (not touching) |
| gataggang | 'above' (in contact) |
| gapittung | 'below' (in contact) |
| gamuang | 'below' (not touching) |
| galawang | 'downhill' |
| gabila/gadimmang | 'uphill' |

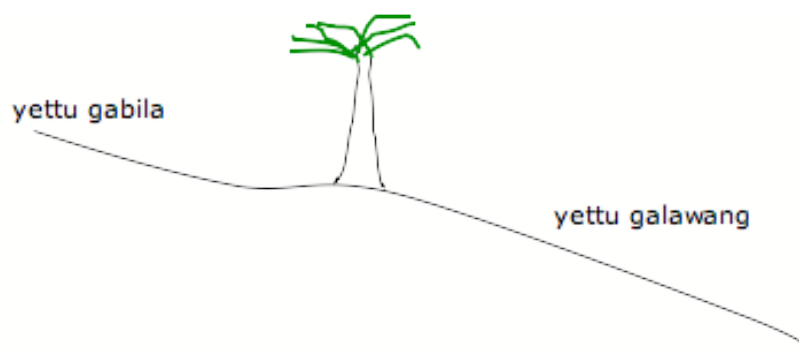
The forms *butang*, *taggang*, *pittung*, and *muang* refer to vertical height above or below an object. The forms *taggang* and *pittung* indicate physical contact, while the forms *butang* and *muang* indicate lack of physical contact.

Figure 4: Forms referring to vertical height



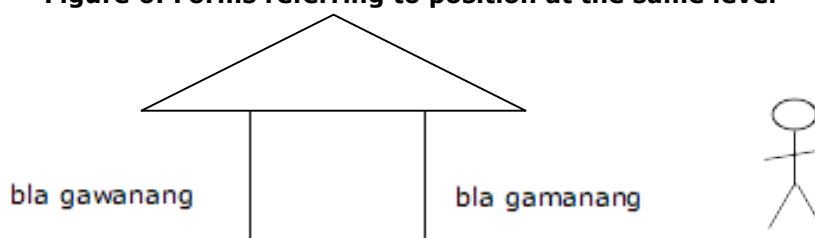
The forms *bila* and *lawang* refer to position along an inclined slope. (*yettu* 'tree').

Figure 5: Forms referring to location along a slope



The forms *wanang* and *manang* refer to position at the same level, thus indicating the area behind the object or in front of the object, respectively. (*bla* 'house') Note the morphological similarity with the directional verbs *wa* 'go' and *ma* 'come'.

Figure 6: Forms referring to position at the same level



Some examples follow:

- (20) bai kakus ga-lawang ga-laking
 pig toilet 3SG-area.downhill 3SG-tie
 'the pig is tied up in the area downhill of the toilet'

- (21) kuri bla ga-manang natar
 marongga.tree house 3SG-front stand
 'the marongga tree stands in front of the house'
 (between the speaker and the house)

Direction may also be expressed lexically in the form of a verb.

Table 7: Directional verbs

| | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|
| wa | go (not far, any direction) |
| ma | come (not far, any direction) |
| middang | return from below, from the west |
| yang | return from above, from the east |
| pia | descend a gentle slope (gentle slope) |
| mia | ascend gentle slope |
| diakang | descend (steep or gentle slope) |
| raung | ascend (steep or gentle slope) |
| dia | go (rather far) |

With the exception of *dia*, all of these verbs occur in antonymic pairs. They are also often combined to indicate more complex directions. For example, *ma middang* 'come back from below' or *middang raung* 'return from below ascending'

4.1.4 Aspectual prefixes

Two aspectual marking prefixes may occur, marking progressive and inceptive aspect. These prefixes are semantically and grammatically complementary, that is, they do not co-occur. The location of the aspectual prefix depends on the morphological status of the verb root. With bound roots the aspectual prefix precedes the obligatory pronominal prefix.

- (22) Position of aspectual prefix with bound roots

| | | | |
|----------------------|------|-------------------|------|
| (PRON ₂) | MODE | PRON ₁ | STEM |
|----------------------|------|-------------------|------|

An example is given below.

- (23) John na-i-ga-niaka
 J. 1SG-PROG-3SG-see
 'I saw John'

With free roots the aspectual prefix precedes the root and follows the pronominal prefix, if present.

(24) Position of aspectual prefix with free roots

| | | |
|--------|------|------|
| (PRON) | MODE | STEM |
|--------|------|------|

Both aspectual prefixes *a-* and *i-* are optional.

The verb prefix *a-* marks inceptive aspect. Its interpretation is dependent on the implied tense. With past situations this prefix generally marks events which have just begun, just started to happen. With non-past situations this prefix marks events which are about to occur.

- (25) tame a-dia ga'ai?
 where INCP-go 3SG.GEN
 'where did (just) she go?'

- (26) a-kanna ga?
 INCP-finish PERF
 '[are you] (about to finish) finished?'

- (27) wakke bogga ye kalau eu ye a-haggi ga'ai
 child young.man one if woman one INCP-take 3SG.GEN
 'if a young man is to marry a girl,' [marriage006]

- (28) aname tawagang mising hala-b a-bloppa ta-b
 person middle sit FOC-SEQ INCP-shoot IMPF-SEQ
 'it's the people sitting in the middle who will start to shoot first' [pubila196]

The inceptive prefix can also have an inchoative reading, indicating a coming into being. This is the case in the following textual example, in which the character Imam Blegur is introduced.

- (29) Imam Blegur,
 I.B.
 'Imam Blegur'

- b. aname Lamma tapi gang pau-m asa Baram mising
 person L. but 3SG.AGT below-LOC so B.-LOC sit
 'was from the Lamma clan but he stayed down at Baranusa'

- c. as Islam ya dia
 so I. toward go
 'so he entered Islam'

- d. Latuna wala.
 L. person
 'he came from Latuna'

- e. raja.
 chief
 '[he was] a chief'

- f. tapi pau-m Bara-m mising.
 but down-LOC B-LOC sit
 'but he lived in Baranusa'

- g. Bara-m mising,
 B-LOC sit
 'living in Baranusa'

- h. Bara eu haggi as Islam ya a-dia
 B. woman take so Islam toward INCP-go
 '[he] took a Baranusa wife so entered Islam (became a Muslim)' [airmama]

In (29c) the phrase *Islam ya dia* occurs meaning 'enter Islam, go toward Islam'. This same phrase is repeated later in (29h) but with an inceptive prefix emphasizing the inchoative sense.

The verb prefix *i-* marks progressive aspect.

- (30) depang wang i-dekang si kauwa ging gakkang ga
 ladder exist PROG-descend go NEG 3PL.AGT 3SG-hit PERF
 'before he could descend the ladder they assaulted him' [tonuburi041]
- (31) n-iu ang me i-golang
 1SG:POSS market LOC PROG-return
 'my mother is returning from the market'

The progressive prefix is homophonous with the fourth-person plural prefix *i-*. However, unlike the fourth-person prefix, the progressive prefix triggers gemination of stem-initial consonants of short verb stems. The progressive prefix may co-occur with pronominal prefixes, in which case it follows the pronominal prefix and triggers deletion of the prefix vowel. In particular, with consonant-initial verb stems which lack the progressive prefix there is a contrast between first singular and first exclusive plural pronominal prefixes, as in *nama* 'I come' versus *nima* 'we (exc.) come'. However, when the progressive prefix is present this contrast is neutralized, as in *nimma* 'I/we(exc.) have come'. Nevertheless, the presence of the progressive prefix is clear from the gemination.

- (32) ni-ar ni-hauwang n-i-mma ganung saiga
 1EXC-father 1EXC-order 1EXC-PROG-come just PROX.VIS
 'our father is ordering us to come here' [tonu036]

The progressive prefix may have an evidential function, asserting the truth of an utterance in spite of a lack of direct evidence, as in (33). In the following example *i-* functions similarly to a hearsay evidential marker.

- (33) n-iu n-iaku i-ga-aulang
 1SG.POSS-mother 1SG.POSS-sibling PROG-3SG-bathe
 'my mother is bathing my brother [but I can't see it]'
- (34) n-i-mising
 1SG-PROG-sit
 'I am sitting [but you can't see me]'

The preceding examples also demonstrate the contrast in the position of the progressive prefix. With bound transitive roots such as *-aulang* 'bathe' the progressive prefixes precedes the pronominal prefix indexing the less agent-like argument. With free roots (transitive or intransitive) such as *mising* 'sit' the pronominal prefix follows the pronominal prefix.

In a serial verb constructions only the final verb may be marked with a mode prefix. This is exemplified in the following excerpt where the SVC *wena me* 'get ready' is repeated in the second intonation unit with an additional verb, thus *wena me lamala* 'get ready completely'. The location of the irrealis prefix shifts from *me* to *lamala*, accordingly.

- (35) dul hi-wena a-me,
 immediately 2PL-prepare INCP-be.located
 hi-wena me a-lamala.
 2PL-prepare be.located INCP-do.completely
 'all of you get ready immediately, get ready completely' [pubila305]
- (36) hinani ba i-asang
 what REL PROG-say
 'what is it that he is saying?'

4.2 Results of other collaborative work undertaken

In addition to the main research on Western Pantar language, I have been involved in a number of other supporting projects investing related languages on Alor and

assisting with language programs at Universitas Nusa Cendana (UNDANA), the local sponsor of my research.

- **East Nusantara Conference (ENUS)**

During the course of this research, I provided assistance to organize the Fifth East Nusantara Conference (ENUS), an international conference on language and culture which will be held in Kupang 1-3 August 2007. This conference has attracted a number of prominent scholars from both within Indonesia, as well as from Europe, Australia, Japan, and America. This represents the first time this international conference has been held in Indonesia. As co-organizer I have been responsible for assembling the conference program, circulating conference announcements, and updating the conference website (www.uaf.edu/linguist/enus).

- **TEFL at UNDANA**

Throughout my affiliation with UNDANA over the past year I have assisted in a number capacities with the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language program. This work has included: evaluating the intensive English course; assisting with English Debate; and performing interviews for spoken English examination.

- **Sawila and Kula phonology**

At the request of my sponsor, Dr. John Haan, I assisted with an investigation of the phonology of the Kula and Sawila languages of eastern Alor. These two languages were once thought to be dialects of the same language (known as Tanglapui). Our work shows quite clearly that Kula and Sawila are indeed separate languages. The results of this work will be presented at the ENUS conference in August 2007.

- **Bahasa Alor**

Bahasa Alor (Alorese) is the only indigenous Austronesian language spoken in the Alor-Pantar region. Connections between Alorese and Western Pantar speakers are surprisingly close, as one of the major *suku* from the Mauta region originates from the Pelang Serang area of Alor, an Alorese-speaking area. In order to make a comparison I began exploratory elicitation work and text recording with Bahasa Alor, including a planned recording of a ceremony at Pelang Serang, 10 July 2007.

4.3 Project deliverables

4.3.1 Publications

Several publications have been prepared or are in preparation as part of this project.

- Project website (a brief grammatical sketch of Western Pantar; www.faculty.uaf.edu/ffgmh1/pantar)
- Kamus Bahasa Tubbe (trilingual Western Pantar – Indonesian – English dictionary focusing on the Tubbe dialect, published in Indonesian, with a brief grammatical sketch and several appendices) (co-authored with Mr. Mahalalel Lamma Koly)
- A Grammar of Western Pantar (comprehensive tri-partite grammar, dictionary, and interlinear texts; a comprehensive description of the Western Pantar language, currently being prepared for publication with a target date of 2008, to be published either by Pacific Linguistics or Mouton)
- DVD/VCD video recordings of texts, songs, dance performances, etc.

- "Person-marking, verb classes, and the notion of grammatical alignment in Western Pantar (Lamma)." (Paper published in the volume *Typological and Areal Analyses: Contributions from East Nusantara*, ed. by M. Ewing & M. Klamer. Leiden: KITLV Press.)
- "Pronouns and pronominal prefixes in Alor-Pantar (Trans New Guinea)." (Paper presented at the Workshop on Papuan Languages. Manokwari, 8-10 August 2007.)
- "Spatial orientation in Western Pantar (Lamma)." (Paper presented at the East Nusantara Conference. Kupang, 1-3 August 2007.)
- "A phonological comparison of Kula and Sawila." (Paper presented at the East Nusantara Conference. Kupang, 1-3 August 2007; co-authored with John Haan)

4.3.2 Archival materials

A corpus of archival materials is being deposited with the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Languages and Cultures (PARADISEC), the world's leading digital archive for the languages of Indonesia and the Pacific region. These materials will be searchable, discoverable, and downloadable via the PARADISEC website (www.paradisec.org.au). Archival materials include

- digital audio recordings of narratives, conversations, songs, chants, and expository texts (approximately 5 GB of digital data or hours)
- video recordings (approximately 35 hours)
- aligned text and audio/video recordings (ELAN format)
- interlinear glossed texts (Shoebox and ELAN format)
- lexical database (approximately 3500 entries and 1100 example sentences)

4.3.3 Sample annotated text

The full corpus of annotated texts with aligned audio/video recordings has been archived with the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Languages and Cultures (PARADISC). Alignment of media was performed using the Transcriber software, generating a time-aligned .trs transcription file. This file was then imported into Shoebox in order to perform interlinear glossing. Finally, the Shoebox .shb file was imported into ELAN to generate a time-aligned interlinearly annotated .eaf file. The following is a sample excerpt from a Shoebox text file.

Figure 7: Excerpt from tonuburi.shb (Shoebox file associated with recording event lev-al-061119-tonu)

```

\ref tonuburi230
\ELANBegin 648.183
\ELANEnd 650.383
\ELANParticipant al
\ft tipping wang yasa wang giluwang yau
\t tipping wang yasa wang giluwang yau
\m tipping wang yasa wang gi- -lu wang yau
\gn bangkit ada buruk ada 3JMK- -usir ada perang
\ge get_up exist rotten exist 3PL- -expel exist war

\fn bangkit iri hati (jengkel), diusir, berperang
\fe they got up angrily and were expelled, and they fought

\ref tonuburi231
\ELANBegin 650.613
\ELANEnd 653.833
\ELANParticipant al
\ft wang yau kanna iwenung biring yang Kedawang mising.
\t wang yau kanna iwenung biring yang Kedawang mising.
\m wang yau kanna i- wenung biring yang Kedawang mising
\gn ada perang sudah mereka- kembali lari turun K,. duduk
\ge exist war already 4PL- return run descend K. sit

\fn berperang habis turun lagi lari turun tinggal di Kedawang
\fe after fighting they ran back down to stay in Kedawang

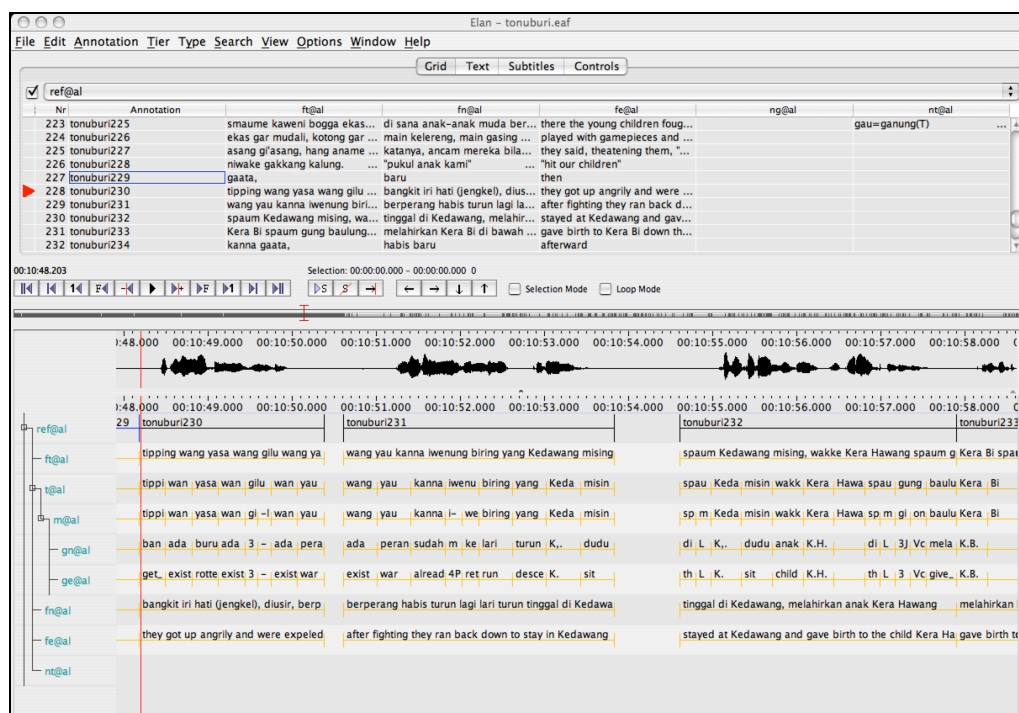
\ref tonuburi232
\ELANBegin 654.618
\ELANEnd 657.908
\ELANParticipant al
\ft spaum Kedawang mising, wakke Kera Hawang spaum gung baulung
\t spaum Kedawang mising, wakke Kera Hawang spaum gung
baulung
\m spau me Kedawang mising wakke Kera Hawang spau me gi-
ong baulung
\gn di_bawah_sana LOC K,. duduk anak K.H. di_bawah_sana LOC
3JMK- Vcomp melahirkan
\ge there_below LOC K. sit child K.H. there_below LOC
3PL- Vcomp give_birth

\fn tinggal di Kedawang, melahirkan anak Kera Hawang
\fe stayed at Kedawang and gave birth to the child Kera Hawang down there

```

The following figure is a screenshot of the presentation display of the same section of transcript as it appears in the ELAN program. The underlying file is an XML text file.

Figure 8: Presentation of tonuburi.eaf (ELAN file associated with recording event lev-al-061119-tonu)



4.3.4 Sample dictionary output

The Western Pantar dictionary created by this project was compiled using the Shoebox lexical database program. Lexical files are stored in a tagged delimited text file format. This data is then formatted using the Mult-Dictionary-Formatter software. The following is a sample output page generated using data current as of late May 2007. The published version (to appear in August 2007) includes an introduction (*kata pengantar*) and a guide to using the dictionary. In addition, both Indonesian and English finder lists (reversals) are included.

Figure 9: Sample dictionary page

| kuba | ku'ung |
|--|--|
| <p>kuang me ilang moko yang dinilai tinggi, tujuh anak panahkuang pai. <i>moko with cast top, most high valued, seven arrows.</i></p> <p>kuba panggilan untuk wanita tua; nenek. <i>term of address for older woman, grandmother. Paired: wenang.</i></p> <p>kuba wala bidan, dukun bayi. <i>midwife.</i></p> <p>kubing cabut. <i>yank out.</i></p> <p>kubbal bongkok. <i>crooked.</i></p> <p>kubbar induk kutu kepala. <i>louse nit.</i></p> <p>kubbing cabut. <i>yank out. nawasing kubbing</i> cabut gigiiku <i>yank my tooth out</i></p> <p>kuddi sungkur. <i>scrape head along the ground (of an animal such as a pig), to root up tubers.</i></p> <p>kudding rangkul. <i>embrace. gamara kuddung</i> merangkul badanya <i>embrace his body</i></p> <p>kue anak panah laut. <i>fish spear.</i></p> <p>ku'i</p> <p>ong ku'i infeksi. <i>infect.</i></p> <p>kuka flu, pilek. <i>flu, cold. Seari: galoa.</i></p> <p>kari kuka penyakit. <i>sickness.</i></p> <p>kuku koku. <i>crow, make sound of rooster. suaki</i> kuku ayam berkoku <i>the rooster crowed</i></p> <p>kukka gunung. <i>mountain.</i></p> <p>Sirung Kukka Gunung Sirung. <i>Mt. Sirung.</i></p> <p>kukka bila bukit. <i>ridge.</i></p> <p>kukka gawu punggung gunung. <i>ridge.</i></p> <p>kukka giggar puncak gunung. <i>peak.</i></p> <p>kukka gamma tanjung. <i>point of land.</i></p> <p>kukka hilla kaki gunung. <i>base of mountain.</i></p> <p>kukka yasa gunung api. <i>volcano.</i></p> <p>kukka sirung gunung api. <i>volcano.</i></p> <p>kukka tangge lereng gunung. <i>mountainside.</i></p> <p>kukka braggas mendaki. <i>climb mountain.</i></p> <p>kukku kokok, suara ayam jantan. <i>crow of a rooster.</i></p> <p>dia suaki kukku ra bunna gallang pergi cari kokok ayam dan asap api (tanda kampung) go to look for crow of a rooster and fire smoke (i.e., signs of a village) wallu kukku tekukur berkokok <i>the turtle dove crowed</i></p> <p>kulang, bantal sambungan tangga tua iris (panjang). <i>cushion connecting stairs for climbing lontar palm. tua tuge kulang</i> bantal tangga pohon tua <i>pads on ladder up tua tree (?)</i></p> <p>kulang, balik. <i>turn over. nagakulang</i> saya baliknya <i>I turn it over</i></p> <p>kulau melolong. <i>howl.</i></p> <p>kuliling main galah. <i>k.o. children's game.</i></p> <p>kulung-kulung sj. burung. <i>k.o. bird, the blue-tailed bee-eater. Merups philippinus.</i></p> <p>kulla dalam. <i>deep. salu kulla</i> lembah yang dalam <i>deep valley Lawan: hare'e.</i></p> <p>Kulligang sebutan daratan pergunungan pantai barat Pantar. <i>area of the western coast of Pantar. Kegunaan: Kadang-kadang dipakai oleh sebagian penutur untuk menyebutkan seluruh Pantar. Used by some speakers to refer to all of Pantar.</i></p> | <p>kullu benak, tuli. <i>hard of hearing, deaf. gauwe</i> kullu dia tuli <i>he is deaf Lawan: hamang.</i></p> <p>kullung, selam. <i>dive. nakullung</i> saya mau selam <i>I'm going diving Hom: kullung: 'mangkuk' 'cup'.</i></p> <p>kullung, mangkuk bambu dipakai minum tuak atau minuman lain. <i>bamboo cup for drinking tuak or other beverages. Hom: kullung: 'selam' 'dive'.</i></p> <p>kumbalu pankreas. <i>pancreas.</i></p> <p>kumbul tumpukan. <i>dull.</i></p> <p>kumbus jari tunjuk. <i>index finger.</i></p> <p>kumina pahit. <i>bitter.</i></p> <p>kumpalu sj. ikan. <i>k.o. fish, the pink shrimpgoby. Cryptocentrus leptoccephalus.</i></p> <p>kumman semut hitam. <i>black ant.</i></p> <p>kummar lempar. <i>throw.</i></p> <p>kunda baju. <i>shirt, blouse, dress.</i></p> <p>kunda gai baka baju singlet. <i>singlet.</i></p> <p>kunda ga'a baka baju kemeja. <i>button down shirt.</i></p> <p>kunda geba buna baju leher bundar.</p> <p>kundar daging tumbuh. <i>wart.</i></p> <p>kung ONOM.</p> <p>kung pallu 1) sj. ikan. <i>k.o. fish.</i> 2) gundul, botak. <i>bald. Seari: ga'ung pallu.</i></p> <p>kuntau pencak silat. <i>self-defense system, marshal arts.</i></p> <p>kupul daging tumbuh. <i>?grown meat.</i></p> <p>kupussa sumpit. <i>shoot with blowpipe.</i></p> <p>kuppa sumbat. <i>stopper, plug.</i></p> <p>kuppi lucut. <i>slip.</i></p> <p>kur bulu burung. <i>feather.</i></p> <p>kur kussang memicing. <i>squint.</i></p> <p>kur laka mahkota laki-laki, merah dengan bulu ayam. <i>man's headdress, red band decorated with chicken feathers in front. (pikar_laka.jpg)</i></p> <p>kur gauwang ayam berbulu tebal.</p> <p>kur ara rumput liar. <i>brush.</i></p> <p>kura ngantuk. <i>tired.</i></p> <p>kura gamayang istirahat. <i>rest.</i></p> <p>kuri 1) pohon merunggai, kelor, daun biasa dipakai sebagai sayur. <i>k.o. tree whose leaves are a staple vegetable in Pantar. Moringa sp.</i> 2) marongga (kartu). <i>clubs (cards).</i></p> <p>kurung buka, singkap. <i>open, expose.</i></p> <p>kusi kuku. <i>nail. kusi maggang</i> kuku tajam <i>sharp fingernail</i></p> <p>tattang kusi kuku tangan. <i>fingernail. PartOf: -attang.</i></p> <p>kusi miaka bagian kutu yang putih. <i>end of fingernail.</i></p> <p>kussang kusut, loyo. <i>disheveled, exhausted.</i></p> <p>kuta bulat. <i>round.</i></p> <p>ku'ung antuk, tersandung. <i>collide, stumble. hi'ing</i> ku'ung kang kauwa</p> <p>ku'ung billung tantangan. <i>challenge, defiance.</i></p> |

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Kamus Pantar Barat — Indonesia — Inggris

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4.4 Significance

4.4.1 Typological and historical

This project provides comprehensive documentation of a language which has been heretofore all but unknown to linguistic science. Through the publication and dissemination of linguistic reference materials, including a large annotated corpus of Western Pantar recordings, future generations of linguists will be able to draw on Western Pantar data in building hypotheses regarding human linguistic structure and typological variation. In addition, these materials will contribute to the understanding of both internal Western Pantar linguistic structure and more broadly to the nature of wider genetic affiliations between Western Pantar and neighboring TAP languages, as well as other Papuan languages.

Previous attempts to characterize the genetic affiliation of Western Pantar are at best speculative. While the non-Austronesian languages of Pantar and neighboring Alor (as well as some on Timor) islands are clearly related to each other, the internal subgrouping as well as distant genetic relations are not entirely clear. Based on an examination of possessive prefixes, Capell (1944) originally postulated that the languages were related to the West Papuan Phylum languages

of North Maluku and the Bird's Head of New Guinea. This hypothesis was later countered by Wurm et al (1975), who classified these languages as members of the putative Trans-New Guinea Phylum. However, the authors offers little evidence for this classification and remain somewhat doubtful, noting: "whichever way they [the Timor-Alor-Pantar languages] are classified, they contain strong substratum elements of the other ... phyla involved" (Wurm et al. 1975:318). The West Papuan hypothesis has recently been revived by Donohue (pers. comm.). The Western Pantar data provided here will directly inform this important debate in Papuan historical linguistics.

4.4.2 Publication and dissemination

Related to these historical issues is the significance of the publication of the Western Pantar dictionary and the Western Pantar corpus. While there has been a flurry of recent linguistic field work activity in the Alor-Pantar area, none of the recent work has focused on the collection of lexical data. Word lists have been included in some reference grammars, but no dictionary is available for any Alor-Pantar language. This is a remarkable fact. Compare this situation to the other area of non-Austronesian languages outside the Papuan mainland, namely, the North Halmaheran region. Large, comprehensive dictionaries were available a century ago for many North Halmaheran languages, including Galela (van Baarda 1895); Tobelo (Hueting 1908), and Modole (Ellen 1916). The lack of dictionaries is also remarkable given the importance of lexical semantics within the TAP languages. These are languages with limited morphology but rich semantic systems. These languages are ripe for description via a dictionary rather than a grammar. And yet most current work has focused on grammatical description rather than lexical documentation. Given the importance of the latter for traditional historical linguistics, it is hoped that the Western Pantar dictionary will be of use to those wishing to explore TAP genetic affiliations.

Furthermore, while most recent linguistic studies have been corpus-based (that is, relying on the collection of a corpus of recordings which are then analyzed for grammatical structures), to date these corpora have been accessible only to the individual researcher. In contrast, the entire Western Pantar corpus will be made available to the public via the PARADISEC digital language archive.

4.4.3 Directions for future studies

For the immediate future, work will continue on the completion of a reference grammar and a revision of the preliminary dictionary. An additional research trip is planned in late 2008 in order to do final checking of the grammar and dictionary. Funds for this work are being sought from the US National Science Foundation and the Endangered Language Documentation Programme.

In terms of long-term research plans, one area of potentially important work is the documentation of geographic names. This knowledge is still very much alive within the Western Pantar region, and hundreds of names have been recorded. Some names, such as those corresponding to currently village sites or prominent geographic features, are marked on topographic maps published by the Indonesian government. However, most of these names are not located on any map.

4.5 Benefits for Indonesian Development Programmes

This project will benefit Indonesian development in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. Of direct benefit is the active involvement of local Indonesian residents in the research project, providing training in the use of audio/video equipment and in the use of computers. Of further direct benefit is the production of language materials which can be of assistance in the development of Muatan Lokal (MULOK) in local schools to assist students who enter school with Western Pantar as their primary language.

Indirectly, this project benefits Indonesian development by providing lasting documentation of Indonesia's rich and diverse cultural heritage. Through the publication of documentary materials and the archiving of digital audio/video corpus data, this project will provide a rich source of material for both researchers and local residents in Indonesia. Already, some Western Pantar youth have made use of project recordings in order to study traditional songs and rituals. Hopefully, these materials will serve the needs of the Indonesian public and academic community for many years to come.

5. Conclusion

The documentation of a language is a daunting task. In some sense, language documentation is never finished. There is always another recording to make, another word to elicit, another grammatical construction to explain. And as language is an ever-changing and expanding entity, new forms are always appearing, waiting to be documented. Just as there can never be a "final" dictionary or grammar of world languages such as Indonesian or English, the documentation of Western Pantar will never truly be "finished". Nevertheless, a research project does have a finite duration, a start date and an end date. Within the span of one year, this project has attempted to gather and compile documentation of a heretofore undocumented indigenous language of Eastern Indonesia. With the goal of creating a faithful representation of the knowledge of a Western Pantar speaker, a variety of forms of documentation has been collected. Primary among these is an annotated corpus of spoken language. Secondary materials include a dictionary and a reference grammar. Analysis of these data will continue for many years to come, and additional data will likely need to be collected during future field expeditions. During that time many changes are likely to affect Western Pantar, as Pantar continues to develop and shift to the use of Indonesian increases. Nevertheless, the results of this year of field research will stand alone as a lasting record of the language known as *Pi Habbang Birang*.

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Appendix: Recordings List

The following appendix contains a list of recordings made during the course of this project. Each recording event is assigned a unique persistent identifier which is composed of the following ISO 639-3 language code (i.e., lev for Western Pantar); the speaker initials; the date in the format YYMMDD; and a brief identifying title. The printout which follows has been exported from a FileMakerPro relational database. A single recording event may have several files associated with it. For example, a recording may have a digital audio file (.wav), a digital video file (.mp4), a Shoebox file (.shb) and an ELAN transcript file (.eaf). These associated files are maintained in a separate database table and are not included in this printout. The total number of recordings collected by the project is somewhat larger, as some recordings have yet to be catalogued and others are still in progress or planned during the course of the remainder of the project.